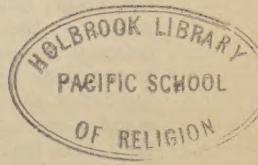


# Social Questions

## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.



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Number 6

### The Acid Test—The Soviet Union

JEROME DAVIS \*

What is the greatest event of the twentieth century? It is not the discovery of the atomic bomb in spite of the gallons of printers' ink that have been devoted to it. Thus far this invention has been used only to snuff out the lives of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children. We have not yet discovered how to use atomic energy constructively. Is it not probable that the greatest event of the twentieth century thus far is the Soviet Revolution and all that it has meant to human welfare including its challenge to our accepted and traditional ways of thinking and behaving?

It would be foolish not to recognize the negative aspects inherent in any profound revolution in men's thinking and behavior. The Soviet Union is not a Utopia. It is a country embracing one-sixth of the land surface of the earth, inhabited by people who are much like ourselves. They have weaknesses just as we have weaknesses. To be sure, their political and economic organizations are different. They do not have the same concept of freedom that we have. We believe in freedom for laissez-faire. We believe in permitting a handful of 1294 monopoly corporations representing less than 3/10 of 1% of all to get 61 9/10% of all corporate income in 1937. We believe in freedom for 150 giant banks to control over half of the nation's banking. We allow freedom to 300 gigantic combines to get 80% of the war contracts. We gave freedom to the corporations to accumulate during the war \$52,000,000,000 in profits after the payment of all taxes. The pressures of these vast financial empires are so great on Congress that they passed a bill, the effect of which is that if General Motors should not make any profits this year it would still receive as a gift from the government, i.e. from everyone of us, \$157,000,000.

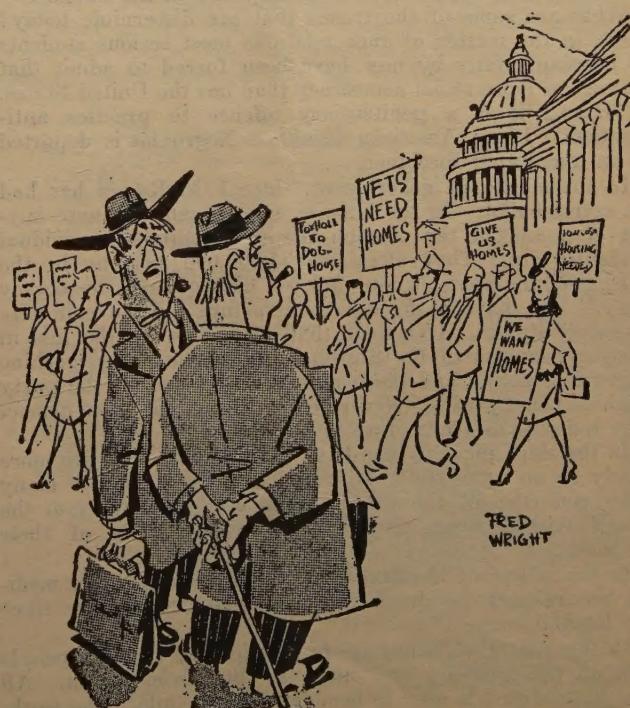
Russia does not believe in that kind of freedom. She wants freedom from laissez-faire. She does not permit freedom to agitate for monopoly capital or for private profit. She believes in freedom for the right of every individual to a job. "Freedom is what happens to the mass of workers and peasants." In America we believe that freedom is the right of every individual to say anything, write anything or do anything which does not violate the law. Of course, if I wish to say something favorable to the Soviet Union, it will not be published in 90% of the newspapers in the United States. And if I am a poor worker without capital resources, I have scant possibility of publishing what I believe unless it is in the interest of the dominant economic power.

Russia has the evil of monopoly for one political party only. She maintains that since she has no capitalists and all the basic means of production and distribution are owned

by the people, there is not the same necessity for rival political parties. In some sense we might say that the system operating in many of our Southern states where the democratic party is in control is analogous to the Russian system. Both have one party control, although the objectives of the Russian government may be at variance with the objectives of the monopoly party in the Southern states. And in Russia all nationalities are allowed to vote. The Negro is not disbarred as in the Southern states.

A third evil in Russia is bureaucracy. No country which owns and operates the basic means of production and distribution has been able to avoid this evil to some extent. Russia has been fighting it valiantly.

A fourth evil in Russia is concentration camps and firing squads. Russia believes it is wiser to destroy the enemies of the people from within rather than wait until they foment war from without. While there are not the legal



*My bill would solve the housing problem....It puts all the men back in the army...*

protections for the individual in the Soviet Union that there are in the United States, there are protections for the people as a whole in Russia that we do not have.

The Anaconda Copper Company bribed United States inspectors and furnished defective wire during the World War. How many millions they made by this means I do not know, but they were able to get off with paltry fines. All over the world a gigantic struggle is taking place between the working class on the one side and the capitalist imperialists on the other. Russia is the vanguard of the fight for the working class. If we are to appraise any country we must do so in the light of the direction in which they are traveling. Judged from the standpoint of the Tsar's regime, Russia has made gigantic strides forward.

I happened to work under the Tsar's regime. In the first camp where I served 75 were dying every day. The Russian soldiers received \$.25 a month in pay. The railroad workers were toiling 12 hours a day, seven days a week, at a miserly pittance. All organization was forbidden not only among the workers but even in the universities. In Turkestan where I was working 92% of the people were illiterate. The women, and even little girls, wore horse-hair veils shutting them out from the sight of all men. Polygamy was widespread. Graft and corruption were everywhere. Prostitutes were legion. In some cases everyone was afflicted with some form of venereal disease. General Brusiloff told me that the graft and corruption were so terrible that he could not secure the arms and ammunition he needed and had to send some of his soldiers into frontal attacks with sticks instead of bayonets.

Following the revolution, Russia was attacked by all the leading Christian nations of the world as well as by Japan in violation of the international law. It is estimated that they did \$77,000,000,000 worth of damage and killed 7,000,000 Russians, backing every White Guard element that was fighting the Communists. General Graves, Commander of the United States forces in Siberia, in his memoirs said that our action in this intervention gained for us the hostility of over 90% of the Russian people.

It is from this background of the Tsar's tyranny and international mass murder that Russia in less than 25 years has emerged as the second strongest power in the world.

What are some of the trends that are discernible today? First, in the matter of race relations most serious students of Russian affairs by now have been forced to admit that Russia has more racial democracy than has the United States. In Russia it is a penitentiary offence to practice anti-semitism. If an American insults a Negro he is deported as an uncultured foreigner.

In the matter of government, since 1935 Russia has had the secret ballot. In the villages anyone can nominate anyone else, and in the election the most popular individual tends to win. They elect over 1,000,000 persons in the villages of the Soviet Union and you have genuine democracy there. You have a democratic structure on the collective farms of Russia. It is true that as you go up the line in electing members of the Supreme Soviet the party machine comes into action and the man who is selected by the party machine usually wins. Nevertheless, Russia has more democracy today than ever before in her history.

In the third place women have advanced till they are more nearly on an equal status with men in Russia, than in many other countries of the world. This is a far cry from the Tsar's regime when they were merely chattels of their husbands.

In the matter of health, everyone in Russia has free medical service and the death rate has been cut steadily since the Revolution.

In the matter of industrial production the Russian people own all the factories and mines in the Soviet Union. All that is produced is used to benefit all the people. The workers are organized into the largest trade unions anywhere in the world. It is true that the Communist Party strives to use these trade unions to increase production because they

say since the factories are owned by the people every increase of production is an advantage to all. As President Murray of the C.I.O. said recently in the *New York Times*, the members of the trade unions are consumers and as such are interested in anything that will increase consumers' goods. Consequently the function of the trade union in Russia is modified by the fact that you have a socialistic state.

In the sixth place, education from the period of the Tsar's tyranny to now, a period of less than thirty years, has abolished illiteracy and in the universities every boy and girl that maintains good grades, not only receives a scholarship, but board and room as well.

In the religious field the Church has been separated from the State. In the early days there was some persecution and hostility toward the Tsar's Church. Atheist societies flourished. An Atheistic journal had a wide circulation. Atheistic museums were widespread. Today all these are gone. The bishops of the church are riding around in limousine cars. The church has its own printing plants. Theological seminaries are opening. I visited the one in Moscow. The students had to study English five days a week. The professors implored me to send religious books in English for their libraries, and I have been doing this. Mr. Newton, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, who recently visited the Soviet Union, declares that today there is as much freedom of religion there as in the United States.

If we were to take a world picture, we would have to realize that our forefathers in 1776 organized a revolution on a virgin continent in North America. There was no one here except a few Indians. There were vast untapped natural resources. They naturally set up a system with individual freedom, individual initiative and free enterprise. One hundred and fifty years later the Russians staged a revolution but they had no virgin continent. Instead they had a Tsar's tyranny. Over 70% of the people were illiterate. The British owned some of the oil wells, the Belgians some of the mines. And seven per cent of the Tsar's privileged few tyrannized over 93% of the people. In the face of this situation the Russian revolutionists overthrew the entire social, economic and political system. For the first time in history they established a government in which all the basic means of production and distribution are owned by the people. The objective of the Russians was exactly the same as those of our forefathers: the happiness and welfare of the people. I maintain that if the Russians had had their revolution in 1776 they would have done much the same as our forefathers did. On the other hand, if Thomas Jefferson and Paine had staged a revolution under a Tsar's tyranny with a background of illiteracy they probably would have done much as the Russians have done. If this is true, why should Americans get so excited about the difference between the Russian system and the American. To understand present Russian foreign policies we must recognize that Russia has lost 15,000,000 people in the World War. She was invaded just the same as though the United States had been occupied from New York through Chicago and all the way on to Tulsa, Oklahoma. In this vast area the houses would have been destroyed, the factories blown up, the people killed, and the teen-age children taken away as wage slaves to Germany. If this had happened in the United States, and contiguous to our shores had been the territory of Manchuria, occupied by the Japanese, we would have gone into Manchuria, and without hesitation taken the machinery in the factories. But because Russia did exactly this thing which we would have done, had we been in her place, she is condemned by Mr. Pauley, a presidential agent whose character was such that he was disbarred from a certain office by the United States Senate. Because our press does not understand that we would have done exactly the same thing under these circumstances, it has been prone to condemning Russia for taking machinery in Manchuria.

Again our press criticizes Russia for exercising influence in Roumania. The American press does not think it so

(Continued on page 96)

# Protestantism Faces the Future

BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM \*

The demand for the public support of parochial schools is a deliberate attempt to undermine public education and is a serious threat to democracy. Our public educational system is a bulwark of democracy. The teaching staff is a devoted, patriotic, highly-trained group of Americans whose contribution to the nation in terms of democratic character deserves high praise. In the public schools, boys and girls from Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish homes study together and in the daily association the public schools afford, learn to live together as Americans, learn to respect each other, learn the contribution of all to the common life. This is essential to democracy. When they are divided into separate sectarian schools, particular emphases that are often prejudices are perpetuated and the bigotry that becomes intolerance is too often inculcated.

Are we to have a separate school system for each church? Are the Methodists, the Baptists, the Episcopalians and others to set up their schools and to demand that the public support them? The Roman Catholic Church insists that the parent has the God-given right to determine the education of his child. The American people, in their love of liberty, have granted the privilege of private education, provided certain standards are met. But the Roman Catholic Church now demands that the public shall support sectarian schools. The right to conduct a private school is one thing. The public support of private education is another.

If a parent has the right to determine the education of his child and if the state must support the private institution the parent thinks necessary for the education of his child, does this mean that a Communist father who wants his child trained in Marxian materialism has the right to call upon the people to support Communist schools across the nation?

To support a score of competing sectarian systems of education is to destroy the American public educational system. Protestants are unalterably opposed to the Roman Catholic insistence upon public support for parochial education. They are opposed to church control of public education, no matter what the church. They believe that control should rest in the people, not in a hierarchy, and they have reason to believe that Roman Catholic laymen acquainted with education hold the same view.

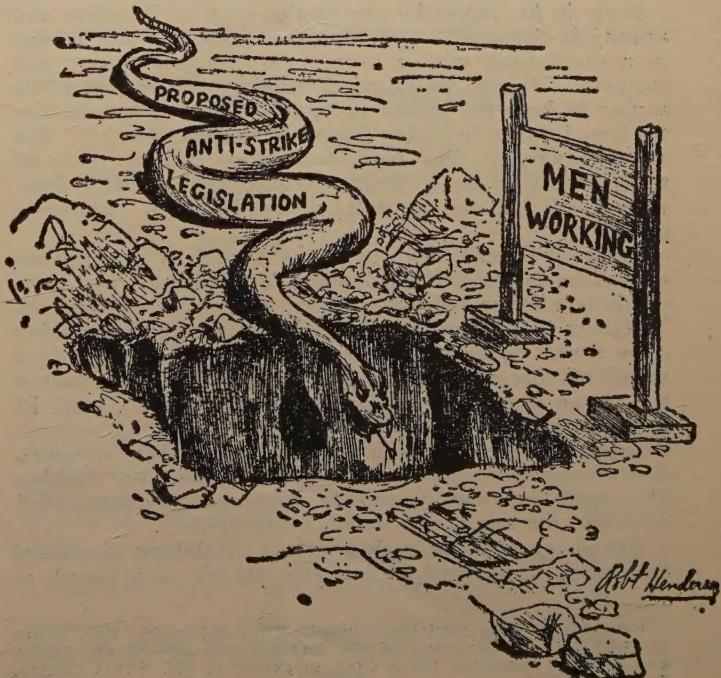
Pope Pius XI in the Encyclical of January, 1930, revealed the real intent of the Roman Catholic Church. He said "Education belongs pre-eminently to the Church . . . the Church is independent of earthly sovereignty both in origin and the exercise of its educational mission, not only with respect to its specific aim, but also with respect to the means necessary to achieve it . . . the Church has the independent right to judge whether any other system or method of education is helpful or harmful to Christian education. . . . As for the scope of the Church's educative mission, it extends over all peoples without any limitation. . . . Civic education . . . must not contradict the doctrine of the Church, which is the divinely constituted mistress of such rules. . . . Attendance at non-Catholic neutral or mixed schools or of schools, that is to say, indifferently open to Catholics and non-Catholics without distinction, is forbidden to Catholic children and can only be tolerated at the discretion of Bishops in special circumstances. . . . Neither is it admissible for Catholics to attend mixed schools (worse still if obligatory for all) where religious instruction is provided and pupils receive the rest of their teaching from non-Catholic masters, together with non-Catholic children."

What the Roman Catholic Church seeks is the complete control of the mind of youth. It demands not alone the right to educate Roman Catholic children in parochial schools but

also that the public shall pay the bills. It informs the public that the Church is supreme and not subject to the control of the people as far as the educational process is concerned. Its intolerance refuses even religious instruction unless it be under the control of the Roman Catholic church. It opposes religious instruction by Christians other than Roman Catholic Christians. In lands where it has the power to do so, it does control the educational system, does deny religious liberty to other faiths, does proceed upon its totalitarian way.

Unfortunately, the Roman Catholic Church has been characterized by an insatiable appetite for power, and power corrupts. Witness the reaction that has set in, in Roman Catholic lands, until the Pope must appeal publicly to the people for support and the Church must call upon government to imprison critics and suppress civil liberties. These activities must break the heart of the devoted priests and sisters, the splendid laymen and lay-women of the church, who love the Christ and would build the Kingdom of God on the earth. Let the church cease trying to be state and church. Let it give us more men like St. Francis. Let it realize that when it is close to its Lord and reveals his spirit of humility and service it possesses the power that is of great worth, but when it seeks to control governments, shackle the minds of men, lay up for itself treasures on earth and become the great tax-free land-owner of nations, that it possesses many barns but loses its soul. All that I have said here applies to every church, Protestant and Catholic alike, whenever the practice is the same.

We will resolutely strive to maintain religious liberty for Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jew. We shall insist that such liberty be maintained throughout the earth. We shall work for brotherly cooperation. We shall continue to pray and labor for the union of all Christians, realizing that Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant are branches of the Church of Christ, and that in them all is heard the affirmation "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." Perhaps the day may come when Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant may kneel in penitence before Our Lord and rise to heal the divisions of the centuries and to answer Christ's prayer that they all "may be one."



\* Bishop of the New York Area of the Methodist Church and a Vice-President of the Federation.

# A Church for all People\*

WEBB WALDRON

In his home town, Denver, people everywhere greet him with: "Say, Wally, you did a swell job with that kid!" Or, "Wally, we got a fight on our hands—we need your help!"

To newsboys, judges, bank presidents and janitors he is Wally. The Reverend Edgar M. Wahlberg, round-faced, spectacled, small but tough as nails, is a 42-year old Methodist preacher who has made his church a vital instrument of social good and a magnificent example of what a church can do.

Not a temple of cold doctrine, but a radiant center of human brotherhood: that is Wahlberg's idea of a church. To encourage people to stand on their own feet, to stimulate the community to shoulder responsibility for its own welfare, to help those in need, to open wide the church to every worthwhile activity of the people: that is Wahlberg's idea of a church's job.

Stand any day at the door of Grace Church and watch the human tide. Working mothers leaving their children at the free nursery. Women attending the Mothers Clinic. People going into the job-finding office. In the evening the Rambler Gang—Young fellows Wally brought in from the streets—playing all sorts of games. In the parsonage the Denver Labor College holding a class in public speaking. In the Community House a Czech group putting on a folk dance, and busy classes in co-operative buying, homemaking, first aid, citizenship.

Attendance at Grace Church activities, apart from religious services, last year exceeded 200,000, including people of 26 denominations. Not one in 20 was a Methodist and many belonged to no church. Often there are 240 meetings a month, with some crowded rooms running four shifts a day. In the recreation rooms many of the youngsters are delinquents paroled in Wahlberg's care. Only two such boys have fallen back into the clutches of the law, and both were mental cases. There are 32 Grace Church basketball teams, and what had been one of Denver's toughest boys' gangs won the inter-church tournament last winter.

Wahlberg was born in Denver, the son of a Swedish immigrant. He graduated from the University of Denver and soon afterward went into the ministry. He has three children of his own.

Early in his career he proved the value of incentive and activity in the world of youth. One of his first pulpits was in a small Utah mining town. Juvenile delinquency was rampant. He said to the mine manager: "You pay \$2700 a year to keep the streets and parks clean. Why not hire the boys in town to do the job—for the same money?" The manager agreed. The boys, finding an exciting sense of responsibility in doing what grownups had formerly done, pitched in and did it well. Juvenile crime practically ceased.

When Wahlberg came to Grace Church a dozen years ago, in the depths of the depression, it was dying. Well-to-do supporters had moved away; church attendance averaged 49. Wahlberg tried pulpit pyrotechnics, but the people wouldn't come back. "Finally," he says "I realized that the church wasn't offering anything that interested people. So I turned the church over to them—to the whole community—and let them do what they wished with it."

Invited in, the neighborhood started a self-help co-operative which raised vegetables and made clothes. In "Problem Meetings" hundreds vigorously discussed poverty, relief, jobs, and the role of the church in the crisis.

Church membership took a jump. Wahlberg discovered that when he stopped pushing the church as a church in

the narrow traditional sense and made it a community affair, the church as a spiritual force multiplied in power.

Alarmed that one district was breeding potential jailbirds, citizens asked Wally what to do. He suggested a community center. They got hold of an abandoned firehouse; old streetcar seats were made into chairs; folks gave tables, stoves and lamps, got up craftwork and games for boys and girls. There has since been almost no juvenile delinquency in that section.

"No corrective effort is effective if imposed from the outside," Wahlberg says. "You must find some root in the community out of which self-improvement and discipline can grow."

Four years ago a Denver businessman, James Q. Newton, gave Grace Church a 500-acre ranch. The Rambler Gang turned it into a boys' ranch. Many people had said the gang wouldn't do a lick of work. But, hauling out tons of manure, they made the cowshed into a dormitory, the machine shed a kitchen and dining hall, the hay barn a craft center. Some 30 boys are there the year around, and in summer the ranch becomes a camp for needy children.

But youth activities won't guarantee that children from bad homes will grow up wholesomely. In the three square mile section around Grace Church, housing conditions were among the worst in town. Denver was advertised as the world's healthiest city, but Wahlberg pointed out that part of this area had one of the world's most shocking infant mortality rates. Juvenile delinquency flourished, too. Both evils Wahlberg laid to the cold, dark, unsanitary shacks in which the people lived.

His outcry brought real estate men down upon him. This upstart Methodist preacher was a traitor to his city. Wahlberg retorted that just as there are laws against selling rotten food, there ought to be laws against renting rotten houses. The Governor appointed him chairman of a state housing committee, and he saw to it that the black spot near his church was replaced by a low-rent housing development. Infant mortality and juvenile misdemeanors took a sharp drop.

Anything that hits evilly at his people brings Wahlberg up fighting. Many in his community were falling into the hands of loan sharks. Interest was sometimes pyramidized to six times the principal, and borrowers often found themselves buried under a growing pile of service fees and refinancing charges. Wahlberg and his friends fought through a city ordinance which eliminated some of the evils. This battle against usury stimulated the organization of credit unions; the one at Grace Church did a \$4,000 business last year. Other group enterprises started under Wahlberg's inspiration and guidance include a consumer's co-operative and a medical and dental service.

Eleven years ago Wahlberg heard that the Denver Bakers' Union was looking for quarters. He invited the bakers to rent rooms in the Community House. Nineteen Denver labor unions have been born in Grace Church, several enjoying free quarters till they got on their feet.

The strongest fraternal hand reaching out to Wahlberg in Denver is that of Paul Roberts, Dean of St. John's Episcopal Cathedral. "Wally not only talks social ideas and ideals—he lives them," says Roberts, who has helped Wahlberg get financial help for his church from wealthy citizens. The two ministers held monthly dinners that brought together Roberts' "coupon clippers" and Wally's labor people. Talking frankly about wages, jobs and working conditions, these men discovered that employers and workers were not different breeds but troubled human beings confronted by different circumstances, trying to work things out into satisfactory lives. These gatherings have spread a better feeling between capital and labor in Denver.

(Continued on page 90)

\* Condensed from *Christian Herald*. The subject, the Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, is chairman of the Labor Committee of the MFSA and recently succeeded Owen Geer as pastor of Mt. Olivet Church, Dearborn, Mich.

## whom the gods destroy

The morning paper brings the information that the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman of Boston, editor of the *Christian Register*, official publication of the American Unitarian Association, has been suspended as editor. Officers of the Association said that Mr. Fritchman had been suspended because they "had lost confidence in Mr. Fritchman's ability to produce a truly liberal magazine."

It went a little deeper than that. Some time ago Fritchman was accused of being a Communist. When this was disproved, he was tagged as being a member of "Communist front" organizations. After an inquiry by a special committee of the Unitarian Association, he was exonerated. So now he is a victim of "lost confidence".

What happened to Steve Fritchman—an able and conscientious editor who made the *Christian Register* one of the few outstanding publications in the church field—could happen to any of us who belong to the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Not a Communist, he was dubbed a "pro-Communist" by supporting such organizations as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the American Peace Mobilization, etc. etc. And when the Unitarians (shades of Channing!) bade him pull in his horns and stop working for peace and against fascism (since the Communists were doing that) he did not. Moreover, he refused to submit his writings in advance for censorship to a sort of little Unitarian Rankin Committee.

More power to Steve Fritchman! At its annual meeting, the New York East Conference chapter of the Federation sent him a message of fraternal support and sympathy. Let others do likewise.

More heads will roll within the Christian Church before the anti-Red hysteria has spent itself. It was so after World War I, when A. Mitchell Palmer went up and down the land like a ravening lion seeking whom he might devour. Whom the gods destroy, they first make mad. Capitalism, Big Business, the "Free Enterprise" system—whatever you want to call it—is drenched with fear. Fear, primarily, of the totalitarian socialism of Russia, but also of the democratic socialism of Britain and of the so-called "Christian" socialism of much of the continent. In an agony of fear and insecurity, capitalism hurls money (\$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey), military supplies, and technical experts into the struggle against this Fear abroad while it hunts down all those at home who do not share its psychotic anxiety at the imminence of a more just and equitable ordering of society. As Dr. Harry Ward recently pointed out in his "Behind the Headlines" comment, all this only makes more difficult the inevitable transition from capitalist-imperialism to democratic socialism.

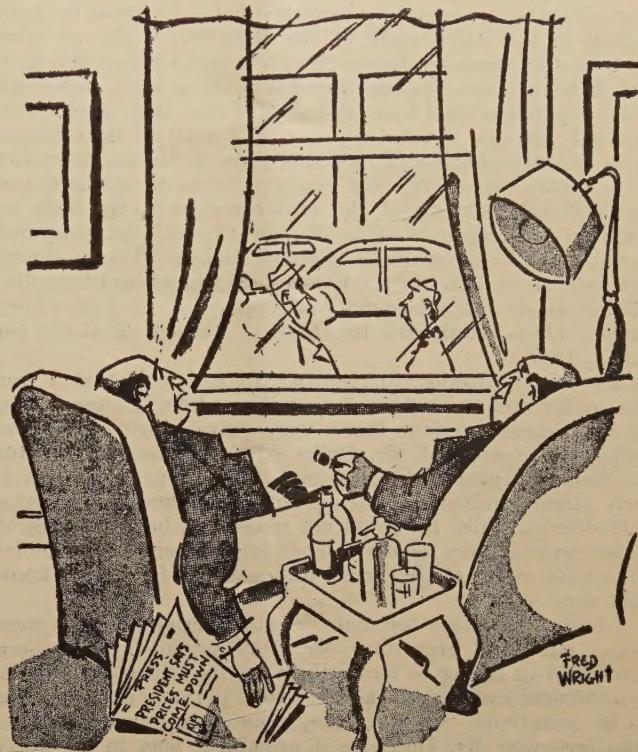
The hysteria is real and so are the penalties of resisting it. This is a time, like that of which Tom Paine wrote, in which the "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots" of the Kingdom of God will melt away.

But some, like Steve Fritchman, will stand and take the punishment and survive the undignified hysteria of which some day the whole country will be ashamed. We will stand, too, asserting that we are not Communists, or totalitarians (except insofar as the Kingdom of God is totalitarian) or crack-pots. We will stand, not on manifestos, Marxian or otherwise, but on a beatitude that Jesus taught His disciples: "Blessed are they that do hunger and thirst after righteousness". And we will not be moved.

Saludos, Steve! Your brethren salute you!

"These are times when, in truth, to dare is the highest wisdom."

William Ellery Channing



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## Social Questions

### BULLETIN

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REV. ALSON J. SMITH, Editor

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# Perhaps Not So Tarnished

GILBERT LE SOURD

One of the most cherished traditions of the Methodist Federation is the preservation of free speech and the right to express differences of opinion. Hence I claim the privilege of suggesting that my good friend, Alson Smith, was mistaken in suggesting tarnished halos for those he mentioned in the April issue of the *Bulletin*. I do not wish to take the space to discuss Kagawa and Chiang Kai-shek but I have many friends who know them both, men with long experience in China and Japan and they agree with Alson Smith that it will be well to wait until all the evidence is in before making final judgment. As to Martin Niemoller it is hardly fair to say "he never seems to have questioned the political morality of the Hitler regime." As early as 1933 in an article in "The Young Church" he protested against the Nazi racialistic doctrine and in 1936 he signed the well known letter of the Evangelical Church to Chancellor Hitler which contains outspoken opposition to Nazi objectives. (For details see the *Federal Council Bulletin* for April, 1947.)

My chief objection to the *Bulletin* article is that I feel the editor was misinformed regarding John Foster Dulles and has therefore done him a very grave injustice. I have followed the work of Mr. Dulles with considerable care for a number of years. My personal acquaintance with him is very slight, limited to hearing him speak and an informal introduction which he would not remember, but I happen to have several very good friends who know Mr. Dulles intimately and through them I have come to feel that I know him very well.

I have been aware for some time that serious charges were being circulated regarding Mr. Dulles, and I have been interested in trying to locate their origin. Some come from a prominent radio commentator who is perhaps more anxious to be sensational than accurate, some come from politicians who recognize Mr. Dulles as a prominent man in his party and would therefore discredit him. The most violent attack that I have personally encountered in recent years comes from an ardent defender of all things Russian, one who said that he was ashamed of the United States and intimated that Russia is the only democratic country in the world. Naturally he does not like one whose knowledge of European affairs makes him feel that all is not well with Russia and has a conviction that some things should be said that may not always be popular with left-wingers.

There are also many sincere and able men who doubt the wisdom of the political and economic theories defended by Mr. Dulles. With them I have no quarrel whatsoever. These are honest differences of opinion and sincere men may hold different views. But sometimes they have been led to believe things about him which are not true. Before taking up some of these in detail let me say that I think Alson Smith was mistaken but that he had good reasons to believe he was stating the truth. Unfortunately he was misinformed.

Now to be specific: In the first place Dr. Mark Dawber has not resigned from the Federal Council's Commission on the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace. He did not say Dulles is "the most dangerous man in America as far as peace is concerned." What he did say was that he was violently opposed to the suggestion made by Mr. Dulles regarding the organization of German economic life—as this was given by the public press in reporting a speech made by Dulles before the National Publishers Association. Dr. Dawber said he considered this the most dangerous suggestion made by a responsible American citizen. (The full speech, which I have before me, gives an impression considerably different from the press reports.)

One of the serious charges made frequently is that Mr. Dulles, or his law firm, represented German cartels and continued to represent them in this country from the time of the first World War on. The *Christian Century*, October 25, 1944, printed a letter in answer to this charge. This was signed by John C. Bennett, Reinhold Niebuhr, Justin Wroe Nixon and G. Bromley Oxnam. They said in part: "some of these charges we know to be false in regard to the facts—for example, his alleged connections with S. K. F. and with Count Rene de Chambrun. Other charges we know to be false in regard to the implications which the facts are made to suggest. It is important to point out that ten years ago as a matter of principle Mr. Dulles and his firm broke connections with clients in Germany, Italy and Japan. . . . Mr. Dulles is known to us as a cautious but open-minded man who is sensitive to the human values involved in economic problems."

I have been informed on excellent authority that it is not true that the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell invested funds for which it was trustee in German rearmament nor solicited loans from American sources for the benefit of German industrialists. I understand that from time to time American financial interests consulted the firm to find out if certain loans to foreign countries would be legal and that opinion was given on the subject, but that is very different from soliciting loans.

I do not know what speech of Mr. Dulles was so vigorously condemned by the Philadelphia *Inquirer* but suspect it was the one on trusteeship appearing in the *Journal of the United Nations*, dated December 19, 1946. In that Mr. Dulles, as the United States representative, opposed the resolution on regional conferences of representatives of non-self-governing territories, not because he, or the United States, opposed the purpose of the resolution but because he felt that the resolution was contrary to the constitution of the United Nations, a position that seems to be well substantiated. He supported the Philippine resolution which attempted to accomplish a similar result in a constitutional manner.

As to the soundness of Mr. Dulles theories regarding the economic organization of Germany. I am not qualified to pass judgement. A recent Christian Century editorial points out the great complexity of the problem on which there may be much difference of opinion. But of this I feel certain, Mr. Dulles is a sincere and able Christian with far more experience in world affairs than most of us liberals. He may be wrong but few have tried more sincerely to do the utmost for world peace and to call him a menace seems to me not only to be grossly unfair, but also seriously mistaken.

Gilbert Q. LeSourd

Ed. Note—We are glad to print Dr. LeSourd's comment on the "Tarnished Saints" editorial. However, all three members of the N. Y. East Conference Committee which discussed the Dulles matter with Dr. Mark Dawber agree that he did state that he "was resigning", that he had no objection to this being made public, and that, *after a long talk* with Mr. Dulles, he had decided that he "was the most dangerous man", etc.

And as for the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell breaking its relations with the German cartels, by 1934—well, by then the damage was done.

"The fascist-minded under various labels, the racialists, the super-duper nationalists, the pathetic and despicable stooges for foreign dictatorship—all of them are excrescences. As long as the American body politic retains its democratic health it can resist them as readily as a healthy human body resists germs."

Eric Johnston

\* Gilbert LeSourd is the very able Treasurer of the MFSA.

# Rural Social Action

ROGER ORTMAYER

## *The FAO is Doing Its Best*

In spite of the pressure of the U. S. State Department and kindred agencies of other nations which are more interested in food as a weapon in the politics of power than the disinterested relief of suffering, the Food and Agriculture Organization is proving its worth.

The first of the permanent agencies of the UN, the FAO now has 47 member nations. It looks upon the stimulation of the governments of its member nations to improve the standards of living of their populations as one of its first objectives. Under the leadership of the restless Sir John Orr, action is the pass-word. Unsuccessful at the Copenhagen Conference in late 1946 in obtaining any real power for the FAO to handle food between surplus and deficit areas about the world, the Director General is, nevertheless, doing his best to create an effective agency to do something about humanity's first problems—the satisfaction of hunger and shelter needs.

Among the major activities of the FAO are such as these:

1. Development of plans for a World Food Council. (More details below)
2. Plans to open up untapped timber resources, especially in Latin America, with the opening of an International Timber Conference in Prague.
3. Meeting of representatives of 14 countries in Travancore, India, to deal with the shortage of rice, more serious than that of any other staple food.
4. Setting up of an International Fisheries Conference for 1950 which will attempt for the first time a world census of fisheries and meet the world scarcity of protein foods.
5. A general survey every three months of the world food situation with a general agricultural census in 1950.
6. Demonstrating the efficacy of collective planning and cooperative action in the food field through the financing of the International Emergency Food Council in fact finding and allocating scarce foods.
7. High calibre Regional Advisors and offices with technical specialists in major areas: China, Europe, India, Latin America, and the Middle East.
8. Long range planning for rural welfare with the hope of encouraging the creation of a kind of extension service to teach modern agricultural practices to farmers in backward countries.

## *The Hoped-for World Food Council*

One of the most important proposals to be considered at the August FAO meeting will be that of a World Food Council. It would replace the present Executive Committee of the FAO. The members of the Council would be representatives of Governments rather than elected individuals, a measure which would give much more authority to its decisions.

Through the information from world sources at its disposal, the World Food Council would be in a strategic position to influence the decisions of governments in relation to international trade agreements. The Council would also take over the jobs of the International Emergency Food Council which is to be discontinued on December 31, 1947. It would have a most important bearing upon the Commodity Council of the International Trade Organization (the ITO).

The Council should have a persuasive influence on governmental programs of production, export, and nutrition.

Unless it succeeds, however, in arousing more interest on the part of the public than now seems to be the case, the voluntary cooperation of independent governments may be very difficult to maintain.

## *Anderson Challenges the Farm Bloc*

In his proposal to Congress which outlined a long range agricultural program for the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture met head-on the "scarcity policy" of the food trade.

He advocated continued high production goals of all basic foods. He recommended that the governmental agriculture policies be revised by boosting the buying power of the poor instead of paying farmers to produce less. He urged "planned plenty" to surplant "planned poverty."

Planned plenty is:

1. Full employment, people with good jobs at wages decent enough to let them buy the things farmers want to and can produce.
2. Exports to people abroad to improve their standards of living and help to provide those markets.

This does not sound like a very revolutionary program. But it is revolutionary coming from the Secretary of Agriculture, the head of the governmental department which has been called the "captive" of the traditional-conservative food trade.

The plan of the Secretary closely resembles the Food Allotment Program S.131, reintroduced by Senator Aiken last January. Such a plan seeks to improve the diets of low income groups and at the same time sustain the domestic markets of the farmers.

The School Lunch Program is as yet the only national program in the U. S. which seeks to fulfill the obligation the U. S. government undertook on becoming a member of the FAO: "to raise the levels of nutrition and the standards of living of its people." This past school year the states spent \$2.18 for every dollar the Federal Government appropriated. But the whole program is in danger from the preposterous "economizing" of the present Congress. Fully \$110 million is required for next year for school lunches in order to compensate for the food American children do not get at home. It looks as if not even \$75 million will be provided. Here is a program to bother your Congressman about!

## *The Land-Grabbers Are Still Busy*

In last month's report, two Congressional bills were referred to which endanger the family-sized farm. As was feared, they were only the entering wedge in the campaign to deliver the lands under the administration of the Land Reclamation Service over to the land-monopolists.

The Central Valley Project of California was the starting point. New bills that have been introduced seek to take off the acreage restrictions also in the San Luis Valley Project of Colorado and the Valley Gravity Canal Project of Texas.

It is required that immediate opposition to S.66, S.912, H.R.656 and H.R.2052 be registered, for hearings started the first part of May. Senator Hugh Butler (Nebr.) is Chairman of the Senate Public Lands Committee and Senator Eugene Hilliken (Colo.) is chairman of the subcommittee which is holding the hearings.

Roger Ortmayer

Note—This will be the last issue of the BULLETIN until Oct. Look for more about the "Tarnished Saints" then!

## In the Field with the Executive Secretary

The recent period has involved speeches before a number of community meetings. On March 14 in Baltimore there was a meeting especially dealing with the effort in Maryland to eliminate the outdated "Jimerow" transportation statutes still legally in effect in that state. In Indianapolis on April 16 there was a meeting in which I lectured on the "Truman Doctrine". The response was most encouraging especially in the discussion period which followed the lecture. On April 27th a Peninsula Conference was held on Long Island, sponsored by a number of community organizations including the American Jewish Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and others. There were a number of speakers at this meeting and my specific job was to talk on the sources of racial and religious prejudice. An encouraging and unanimous determination was expressed in that meeting (held in the magnificent "Temple Israel") (not to let the spirit of the meeting die but to continue a community wide organization aimed at eliminating undemocratic and unbrotherly group friction. On May 9 I spoke to an enthusiastic group of students in Philadelphia on the present threats to democratic civil liberties, with special reference to the inroads being made on academic freedom. And the next day I was with an Annual Methodist Youth Fellowship District meeting on Long Island, speaking on the challenge which comes to Christian youth in the present and deepening social crisis.

One of the community-wide opportunities which came in the recent period was to participate in a mutual network broadcast forum on the question: "Should Congress Outlaw the Communist Party?" This gave me an opportunity to espouse the position taken by our Executive Committee on this important civil liberties issue. The mail response following this broadcast has been most encouraging and it indicates that the American people, (despite the concentrated hysteria and propaganda) are fundamentally loyal to our cherished democratic rights, including rights for radical and unpopular minorities. The date of this radio forum was April 29 and the full text can be ordered (by those interested) from the American Forum of the Air, 1627 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

On April 18, I enjoyed my first visit to the Troy Annual Conference. There was a large, capacity turnout for the luncheon, at which I had been invited to speak by the Conference's Social Service Commission. There was a very heartening response to my luncheon address which dealt primarily with our Government foreign policy, particularly the "Truman Doctrine"—and which defended and documented the position taken by our Executive Committee. The next day, April 19, James Moss, our promotional secretary and I went down to Philadelphia for the Delaware Conference. We both had understood that a meeting had been arranged. Unfortunately there seems to have been no advance preparation, so that the visit was largely fruitless. But we have real friends in that Conference and are sure that there will be some encouraging and significant Chapter development in the coming year. On April 25 I had a great time paying my first visit to the Maine Conference. Here I had been invited to give the Conference morning hour address and to speak again to an overflow supper meeting called by our Maine Conference Federation Chapter. In both instances the response was very encouraging and I left Maine assured of a stronger and more active Federation Chapter in the year ahead.

Late May and all of June will find me on the field teaching courses, in the Louisiana Pastor's School and in Youth Institutes in Southwest Texas and New Mexico and visiting our Federation members and friends in a number of Conferences meeting in the Southwest, especially Texas.

J. R. M.

## Group Finds Bus Companies Evading Supreme Court's Anti-Jim Crow Ruling

An interracial group which traveled from April 9th to 23rd through the upper South discovered, according to a report released today, that "bus companies are attempting to circumvent the intentions of the Supreme Court in the Irene Morgan decision". Handed down in June, 1946, this decision outlawed racial segregation in interstate travel.

The two-week trip, through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, was sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The report finds that "the great majority of the passengers were apathetic and did not register their feelings". This conclusion was based on the fact that on buses where the driver ignored the Negroes riding in front seats, passengers generally paid no attention. Even in cases where drivers did raise the issue and where buses were delayed, the passengers' attitude was generally neutral.

During the two weeks the group made 26 tests aboard Greyhound and National Trailways buses, with Negroes sitting in front and whites in the rear.

There were a total of 12 arrests including Negroes and whites. They occurred at Petersburg, Amherst, and Culpeper, Virginia, and at Durham, Chapel Hill, and Asheville, North Carolina. At Durham, where 3 arrested men were released without charge, a false arrest suit has been instituted. In Asheville, where 2 men were sentenced to the maximum of 30 days under the state's Jim Crow law, the appeal will come up May 19th. Trials of the other cases will take place within the next month, with appeals planned in the event of adverse decisions.

All the arrests occurred aboard National Trailways buses. On several occasions aboard Greyhound buses, drivers requested Negroes to move to the rear, but no arrests were made. At Oxford, North Carolina, a Greyhound driver called the police, but no arrest was made and the Negro involved remained unmolested in his front seat. In the four tests made aboard railroads, there were no arrests, but two threatened arrests.

The only act of hostility encountered by the group was at Chapel Hill where cab drivers attempted to mob four men arrested there. No act of hostility was threatened at any time by passengers, although in a few instances passengers brought drivers' attention to Negroes sitting in front seats. On several occasions white passengers spoke up for the traveling group. Among bus drivers, passengers, and police there was a general ignorance of the Supreme Court decision in the Irene Morgan case. Those who had heard about it vaguely did not know whether or how it applies.

Local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in towns along the way gave the traveling group full legal aid and sponsored meetings to hear about the trip's progress. Meetings were also held with student groups. In Richmond Charles Webber, president of the Virginia CIO Council, voiced full support. Moss Plunkett, noted Virginia liberal who ran for governor against the Byrd machine, expressed his support at the Roanoke meeting.

Sixteen Negroes and whites took part in the trip. They include George Houser, Conrad Lynn, James Peck, Igal Roodenko, Bayard Rustin, and William Worthy from New York City; Dennis Banks and Homer Jack from Chicago; Andrew Johnson, Worth Randle, and Nathan Wright from Cincinnati; and Wallace Nelson from Columbus, Ohio. North Carolina participants were Louis Adams and Joe Felmet from Asheville, Ernest Bromley from New Bern, and Eugene Stanley from Greensboro.

The report concluded by urging individuals and groups to "break the pattern" by riding buses and trains in an unsegregated manner.

## Behind the Headlines

Step by step the General Staff-Big Business foreign policy moves along the course determined by its nature. Increasingly it becomes clear that this course is the opposite of the professions of its architects and the desires of those churchmen who through various organizations gave it their support with the pious hope that the next time the UN would be used. The inevitable failure of the attempt to pressure the Soviet Union into the immediate acceptance of our program for Germany by the proclamation of the "Truman Doctrine" brings out the alternative desired by all the anti-Soviet forces. The answer to Stalin's counsel for patience in the search for workable compromise, the contradiction of their announcement of gains, was the threat of unilateral action by Marshall, Dulles and Vandenberg in chorus. Thus the course we are taking brings into view a peace without Russia, a divided Germany, a divided Europe, a divided world.

This development underscores the ignorance and the hypocrisy that introduced the bill for aid to Greece and Turkey into the House as a program for affirmative peace. The State Department is now turning its attention to France as more important than Greece. At Moscow the attempt was made to line up France with our German policy by a grant of much needed coal. Should that succeed it would split the coalition government in which the communists are the largest party, freely elected. Then DeGaulle, with all the old anti-democratic collaborationist elements behind him, would make his bid for power. Already they are banking on American funds in that event. But civil war in France would end the hope of a peaceful development of the transition to economic democracy in Europe.

Wherever it moves, the negative policy of checking communist advance, with its positive counterpart of extending economic imperialism, moves toward more war. Is there peace in China? Will there be if our Congress, deceived by the addition of two fractional splinter anti-Kuomintang groups, and a few independent individuals, to the government, grants a loan? Is there peace in Palestine? Will there be as long as that unhappy land is a pawn in the great contest over oil?

The failure of the anti-communist program to offer a constructive solution and its inability to carry one through are plainly seen in the reparations issue. This is the key to the log jam in the German question, because of its relation to the failure of the German economy. Western Russia is admittedly the most needy land in Europe. Most of its industry and agriculture was destroyed, most of its dwellings levelled to the ground over an area extending from our Atlantic Seaboard to the Mississippi. The Soviet people are becoming increasingly sensitive over the failure to receive the help in their rebuilding they think is due because of their part in the war.

The Soviet attitude on this question was severely criticized by our delegates at Moscow. But it certainly would have been different if any constructive proposal of loans or credits for relief and reconstruction had been offered by us. Instead Congress, against the protest of the State Department, has stopped the delivery of goods already contracted for. The Ukraine, which suffered from drought last year, and Byelo-Russia, are on the unfriendly list and can receive no relief. For their hungry children our church people have shown no such solicitude as they properly showed for the children of Germany.

Here we see the results of the continued portrayal of the Soviet Union by our diplomatic representatives, and our press, as wrong on every issue while we are always right. The results also of preparing for war against Russia and of waging political economic warfare against her. The war attitude destroys the capacity for the constructive proposals necessary for the building of peace. Then it parades in the cloak of self righteousness, and so provides justifications for supporting a war.

An example of this behaviour is our course in Korea, the joint discussion of whose future government was reopened by agreement at the recent conference in Moscow. The breakdown in negotiations last May was due to a difference over what organizations and groups were democratic and consequently entitled, by the Moscow agreement of December, 1945, on this test, to participate in the government. The Soviet representatives refused to include in the discussion those who had opposed U.N. trusteeship. This was a technical point. The basic issue was that these organizations and groups, over which we arbitrarily put the label "democratic", wanted to exclude the liberal-labor bloc from representation in the government. Also they had leaders with collaborationist records. Marshall still insists upon including these people in the discussion concerning a provisional government. The magazine *Amerasia* says that our previous proposal, which the Soviet refused, was 17 representatives for the right wing parties and three for the National Democratic Front, a leftist-labor coalition. When the negotiations deadlocked, we charged the Soviet representatives with "being out of harmony with basic democratic principles of freedom of thought and expression." By implication, Marshall repeated this in his conditions for resumption of negotiations.

Over and against his insistence upon a basis for respect for the democratic right of freedom of opinion, there stands the press record of A.M.G. actions in Korea, beginning with the refusal of General Hodge on his arrival to see the leaders of the resistance movement who had been carrying on a provisional administration. He then installed a governing body, mostly exiles and collaborators, two thirds of whom had "incomes of over 100,000 bags of rice a year."

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy reports that:

"Several progressive newspapers have been suppressed. Collaborators with the Japanese hold high office; the chief of the Department of Education made recruiting speeches for the Japanese during the war. Members of the Japanese gendarmerie are now in the police. A rightist leader charges that the composition of the A.M.G. sponsored Legislative Assembly is un-democratic and non-representative, specifying manipulation and fraud in the election. A.M.G. controlled police have been used as strike-breakers."

Sixteen Koreans now face death and 521 face imprisonment for taking part in a general strike. It grew spontaneously out of a railroad strike, which occurred when the requests of the workers for a higher standard of living and democratic labor laws were ignored and General Hodge refused their request to mediate. The men walked out and the Military Governor declared the strike illegal. General Hodge was quoted as urging the Korean people "to exterminate the elements who organize strikes and provoke discontent." The strike became general until 330,200 men and women were out. The police were given orders to smash it. The inevitable violence occurred. The Southern Korea Labor Party warns that if the resulting sentences are carried out: "The Korean people will not hesitate to offer their lives and blood to share the fate of their leaders."

H. F. W.

The ice man cometh  
The plumber plumbeth  
The milkman leaveth his bill at the door  
The postman ringeth twice, or more.  
The garbage man clangeth  
The laundry man bangeth  
The insurance man knocketh, or ringeth, or both  
And that is how the money goeth.

—Alice Wentworth

# Executive Secretary on "American Forum of the Air"

(INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT)

Mr. Chairman, Gladly I join that large and varied array of Americans of all religious and political faiths who oppose the extreme proposal to outlaw the Communist Party in America. Under our democracy Americans have the democratic right to read and hear literature and speeches of all political shades, including Communist, and to vote for the candidates of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Communist, or any other political party. That right to free, untrammeled elections is precious to Americans and must not be destroyed. Our democracy is not so sick as Mr. Rankin and Sheppard believe or wish. They distrust the voting citizens of America and would tell them in advance how they should or should not vote. This decision does not belong to Mr. Rankin or Sheppard or to the Congress from which they seek legislation. The overwhelming mass of us Americans will never vote for the Communist Party, or Socialist Party either. But we won't have Mr. Rankin, Sheppard and Miller deny us the right to make up our own minds on the matter—after getting all the relevant evidence, including the statements and platforms of all the parties and candidates. Congress must pass no law, which dictates to the people of America that there are certain political views which they will never have the right to hear and certain political candidates for whom they shall never have the right to vote. Such action by Congress would mock our constitution and bill of rights and kill our democracy. Tonight's issue is not whether we like the Communist Party, but whether we like American democracy. Like the vast majority of Americans, I like that democracy and want it preserved and extended.

We Americans cannot act on this proposal as though it were new or never tried. It was tried by the government which declared war against the world and murdered millions of innocent people including American boys. In Germany, Italy, Japan and Franco Spain suppression of the Communist Party was part of the suppression of democracy itself—not only for minorities, but for *all* people. The fine boys whom I loved and served as a chaplain in the recent war did not die at the hands of Hitler and his colleagues so that our leaders would imitate them and adopt their anti-democratic program. The hysterical persecution of communists was tried here also after the last World War—as part of a wave of reaction in which the rights of many besides communists were endangered and which paved the way for our most disastrous depression. Let us not go back to witch-hunts, but forward to the prevention of another depression and another war.

Jesus opposed persecution and was himself with his disciples persecuted. The proposal to persecute and suppress the communist minority is utterly alien to the spirit and message of Jesus—to which increasing numbers of us must look if we would answer the basic problems of our day. Because I believe in American democracy and would follow the religion of Jesus and because I am neither blind nor indifferent to the clear lessons of history, I oppose the proposal that the Congress outlaw the Communist Party and would leave the American people free to vote for any political candidates they choose, after freely reading or hearing their views.

## A Church for all People

(Continued from page 84)

"The Church needs," says Wahlberg, "to rethink and restate the needs of men. Until it has done so it will be jostled out of the way by the onrush of movements that gather round those needs—that give vitality to fascism and communism. If democracy is to be saved in America the Church will have to take a hand. To do so it will have to know not less about God but more about men."

## A Letter to YOU From:

BISHOP LEWIS O. HARTMAN, MRS. J. D. KILGORE,  
DR. CORLISS P. HARGRAVES, DR. HENRY H.  
CRANE, DR. WILLARD UPHAUS

My dear Federationist:

As a group of your fellow members, we are writing to you, a loyal member of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. This is important. Please take time to read it through carefully.

A generation ago the Methodist Federation for Social Service was one of the most effective agencies in re-shaping the thinking of an entire denomination regarding the social implications and application of the Christian Gospel. We have now come to the time when that job must be done over, for the present and oncoming generations. Two World Wars have left a terrible moral sag in the life not only of our churches but of our entire nation. If ever the Methodist Federation was needed and had a distinctive opportunity, it is now.

We have employed an able general secretary, willing to devote himself to this cause, and provided him with a minimum office setup. But we have left him and his force with tied hands, owing to the fact that they hardly know from one month to another where the money is to come from that will keep the office open. We are confident that you will agree with us that something urgently needs to be done about this, and at once. And here is the news! Several members of the Federation have agreed, each, to be one of a hundred persons who will give \$100 (one hundred dollars) per year to the support of the movement. Can we get these hundred men and women, even at some considerable readjustments in their budgets and sacrifices to themselves, to pledge that for the next five years, barring inescapable accident or other disability, they will contribute one hundred dollars per year to the Methodist Federation for Social Action. If we can do this, it will set our leadership free to do the job that needs to be done. And the subscriptions additionally received, from those not able to contribute as much as one hundred dollars a year will cover the remainder of the Federation's annual budget.

Will you be one of the one hundred? Think it over, pray over it, and if the Lord enables you to do it, please send us your pledge and your words of hearty cooperation as immediately as possible.

\* \* \* \* \*

The following have already responded to this urgent appeal:

Rev. Elwin Wilson, Rev. Spencer Baker Owens, Dr. Albert E. Barnett, Dr. and Mrs. David Jones, Dr. Clyde R. Miller, Mr. John M. Grove, Miss Elizabeth Howe, Dr. Ruth Wolcott, Dr. Samuel Sweeney, Bishop Charles W. Brashares, Bishop Robert N. Brooks, Dr. and Mrs. Harry F. Ward, Dr. Charles E. Schofield, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and Rev. Gerald Kennedy.

EIGHTY MORE \$100 MEMBERS ARE NEEDED.  
CAN WE COUNT ON YOU???

WHY NOT ask your Official Board or Quarterly Conference to make a CHURCH CONTRIBUTION to the work of the Federation? Others are doing this.

# Social Issues in Today's World

## The General Welfare

**DR. MURRAY H. LEIFER OF GARRETT** is the author of a book entitled "The Layman Looks at the Minister". A "sampling" of Methodist district lay leaders, women, and youth, the book shows just what lay people like and dislike in their minister.

Eighty-eight per cent of laymen are critical of the minister who "is not effective in winning decisions for Christ", and 66.4% disapprove of the pastor who "does not hold evangelistic meetings"; 86.3% think a minister is "undesirable" if he makes too few pastoral calls; 56.9% react unfavorably to the minister who does not accompany his call with prayer; 70.1% disapprove of the minister who permits social dancing on church property; 62.4% want the minister to be a popular speaker at Chamber of Commerce and Rotary Club meetings, but only 31% approve of his making occasional talks to labor union groups; 52.3% do not want their minister to be "corpulent"; 75% are against the preacher smoking.

Dr. Leiffer's samplings would seem to indicate that Mr. Henry Luce of *Time* and *Life* was right when, in a recent speech, he said that Protestantism was afflicted by a "stale moralism".

## International Relations

**THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF 600 JEWISH REFUGEES** invited to make their homes in Norway will be given a three-months orientation course in Norwegian culture, history, language and civics, with intensive instruction in the terminology of the trade or craft they will follow in their new home. A Norwegian delegation including representatives from the Trade Union Federation, the Psycho-Technical Institute, the Government Health Office and the Refugee Directorate, have been in Germany picking 300 applicants within the employment groups set up by the Norwegian Labor Office in the light of present labor shortages in Norway. The remaining 300 refugees are coming from Poland. All 600, it is assumed, may apply for Norwegian citizenship after five years' residence. (WP)

**DESIRING NOTHING MORE THAN PEACE AND SECURITY**, the Chinese people have been victims of brutality for so long a time that it may be easy for a political party to brutalize them into a program of violence, according to Dr. T. C. Chao, head of the School of Religion at Yenching University, Peiping, China, in an interview on his recent arrival in the United States to attend a world conference of religious leaders in Philadelphia.

Organizations such as United Service to China, Dr. Chao declared, are furthering the educational program in China by training technicians, medical men and others who can in turn teach still other Chinese.

"The Chinese people," he said, "want more than anything else to take their place respectably in the family of nations. But today the future of China depends on the international situation which has its effect on international problems, on international reform, and on reconstruction. No one nation lives by itself alone. The Chinese nation realizes this and is looking to the outside world for the information and the education which will give her the know-how to help herself."

Yenching University is one of the thirteen institutions of higher learning in China supported through private American contributions to United Service to China, which is now conducting its Sixth Annual Appeal.

"The Chinese are not politically minded," Dr. Chao told reporters. "They do not express their desires in an articulate way. Therefore, any party can brutalize them into policies; and even into a political way of thinking which is not compatible with their own personal philosophy.

"Despite its great destruction, the war was an educational factor. It uprooted the mass of people—fleeing before Japanese armies—from their own ancestral soil, so that they came in contact with people from other provinces. For many, it was the first contact they had had with outside people and thus, the seed of intellectual curiosity was planted."

**ASSISTANCE IN MANY FORMS WAS GIVEN BY CHURCH WORLD SERVICE** during 1946 to a total of not less than 2,460,000 people in China who were benefitted to the extent of \$2,218,855, according to a report from United Service to China. Of this total, \$768,397 was contributed by United Service to China, of which CWS is a cooperating agency.

The assistance extended by CWS included 807,348 pounds of contributed goods valued at \$626,955, and help of other kinds amounting to \$1,591,900.

Direct relief was administered in civil war and flood areas. One project was the building of a 20-kilometer dike where 5,000 workers and their families were fed for months, and which made possible the growing of two crops of rice annually, instead of a single crop, over an area of 60,000 acres. The program also included the delivery of clothing to almost 900,000 individuals and distribution of vitamin tablets, bedding and food.

Church World Service continues to share in the support of some 30,000 orphans and to make grants-in-aid to Chinese pastors and church workers, to faculties of primary schools and to the staff and students of theological colleges. Aid to mission hospitals has continued with grants for distribution of medical supplies and emergency repairs to building and equipment.

Numerous ongoing projects, as well as some new projects of Church World Service will continue to receive the support of United Service to China during the current year, the report stated. Contributions to the current campaign of USC help make this work possible.

**"CHINA'S CIVIL WAR . . . IS ALMOST ENTIRELY A DISASTER** caused by the encouragement of the American government", a number of Kuomintang members, who have formed "the Democratic Group Within the Kuomintang" declared in a manifesto last month. The manifesto, which also charges that U. S. policy constitutes "an infringement of China's national economy", was signed by Marshal Li Chi-shen, a veteran member of the party's Central Executive Committee who leads the group.

The statement is of historic significance because it represents an internal challenge to the reactionaries who now control the Kuomintang party. It attacks the Sino-American Treaty of Commerce and Navigation as "the most servile surrender of economic sovereignty in Chinese history." Issued during the Moscow Conference, it asked the Foreign Ministers of the United Nations to "conduct an intensive investigation of the selfish policy of the U. S. in China since it assumed the rôle of mediator in the civil war."

## Labor Concern

**IN NEW YORK**, State Senator Kenneth Sherbell (ALP) recently revealed that he intends to introduce during the next session of the legislature, an amendment to the Ives-Quinn Law which would permit organizations to file complaints against employers for discriminatory hiring practices.

Citing the J. C. Penney Co. as an example of an employer engaged in flagrant violation of the law, Sherbell pointed out that under the present law, which provides that an individual must file a complaint personally, the worker is prevented from prosecution of his claim by the necessity of looking for work.

The firm is a retail apparel chain with a large warehouse located at 330 West 34th Street, N. Y. C.

Meanwhile several individual complaints have already been levied against the company, charging discrimination in hiring practice. One of these has been filed by Ernest Hodges, a Negro World War II veteran and a warehouseman with 10 years of experience, who went to the company employment office on January 22 to apply for a warehouse job. He was told the company was not hiring and had not hired anyone for the past four or five months. In his complaint, Hodges stated he has information that a considerable number of people were hired by the firm both in the four-month period prior to his application and in the period since that time.

Sherbell, who is Public Affairs Director of Local 65, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers, CIO, which is conducting an organizing drive against the Penney Company, went on to say:

"We have been able to accumulate many instances of discriminatory hiring practices by the Penny Company which prove definitely that the company's policies are in violation of the law. If we were now permitted to file a complaint as a trade union, the guilt of the company could readily be demonstrated and legal action taken to force compliance with the law."

He urged that the State Committee against Discrimination, set up by the Ives-Quinn Law, investigate the hiring policy of J. C. Penney Co. so that the purpose and spirit of the law can be carried out.

## The Cooperative Movement

**THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES** is assisting in the organization of regional Agricultural Cooperative Transportation Committees to serve every portion of the United States. These regional committees are set up to serve as branch committees of the National Agricultural Cooperative Transportation Committee.

Traffic officers or representatives of agricultural cooperative business associations are eligible for membership. Membership in the committee does not abridge the right of any individual or organization with respect to his own activities even though such individual action is contrary to the position of the regional or national committee. There are no dues, initiation fees or membership fees.

Purpose of the Regional Committee is to promote the interest in transportation matters of cooperative business organizations of farmers in this region by: (a) Bringing together Traffic Managers and other representatives for transportation matters to interchange ideas and discuss department functions of a cooperative business organization, (b) To analyze and discuss transportation subjects of a regional or national scope, and (c) To transmit to the Executive Transportation Committee of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, matters requiring the decision of that body.

## Race Relations

**LAST WEEK IN LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY**, an all-white jury assessed damages of \$800 against the Louisville and Nashville Railroad for refusing dining car service to two Negro passengers. The two—one of them the president of the Alumni Association of Fisk University, the other a life insurance executive—were returning from a meeting of the Association in Nashville. Because all tables were full behind the so-called "Jim Crow" curtain, the two were refused service, though there were vacant tables in other parts of the car.

**FIVE STATES — MASSACHUSETTS, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, INDIANA AND WISCONSIN** — have enacted legislation to discourage discrimination in employ-

ment, (FEPC laws), according to the American Council on Race Relations. Similar laws are now under consideration in several other states. The Fair Employment Practice Commission of New York State recently ended its first year's work, reporting the successful handling of several hundred cases.

**TO SUCCEED DR. GEORGE E. HAYNES**, recently retired, the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches has elected Dr. J. Oscar Lee as secretary of the Council's department of race relations. Dr. Lee is a graduate of Lincoln University, Yale Divinity School, and Union Theological Seminary of New York, and was the first member of his race to receive the degree of Doctor of Theology from the Southern Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Richmond, Virginia. He has served in the pastorate in Brooklyn, on the faculties of Howard and Virginia Union Universities, and last year as field secretary of the Federal Council's race relations department.

**DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR 1945-46** approximately 85,000 students were enrolled in the country's 106 Negro colleges, according to reports compiled by the department of education of Howard University. Of these, more than 6,000 were graduated with baccalaureate or advanced degrees. In addition, large numbers of Negro students were enrolled in other institutions and many were awarded degrees. The present year's attendance, it is estimated, will be heavier than that of last year, due to the enrollment of more than 20,000 Negro veterans attending college with government aid.

## Federation Activities and Reports

**THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST CONFERENCE CHAPTER** of the Federation cooperated with the Town and Country Commission and the Board of Education of the Pacific Northwest Conference in a study conference on "The Columbia Basin Development and Human Welfare" at Ephrata, Washington, on April 8-9-10.

Participating in the program were W. W. Johnson, Head of the Bureau of Reclamation; Art Garton, of the Columbia Basin Commission; Elmer Breckner, Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction; John Toesves, of the Bureau of Reclamation; Buford Kuhns, Land Settlement Supervisor; J. M. Berkey, of the Community Development and Planning Commission of the Bureau of Reclamation; the Rev. Daniel Taylor, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Vancouver and President of the Conference Federation chapter; Frederick L. Pedersen, President of the Washington State Council of Churches, and Elwyn H. Scheyer, Executive Secretary of the Conference Board of Education.

A feature of the meeting was the hearing of reports by Mrs. J. D. Kilgore and Rev. Robert Shaw on the Federation's National Meeting at Evanston.

On Thursday afternoon a field trip was taken to Grand Coulee Dam.

**THE NEW YORK CITY CHAPTER** held its spring supper meeting at Metropolitan-Duane Church, 7th Ave. and 12th Street, on May 29th.

The meeting climaxed a drive for 500 members in the New York area and was addressed by Dr. Ralph Sockman, Dr. Charles Y. Trigg, and Dr. Will Maslow, the latter from the American Jewish Congress.

More than a hundred were in attendance and enjoyed an excellent roast beef supper. Mr. James Moss, Promotional Secretary of the Federation, was in charge of arrangements and Rev. Alson J. Smith, retiring President of the Chapter, presided.

## The Federation Mailbag

Portland, Oregon

Dear Editor:

It seems to me the important thing to do in America is to secure the right of freedom of conscience and that C.O.s in the future be given a legal status of respect rather than contumely. They may be politically mistaken, but in their ultimate outlook they are perhaps correct—i.e., killing is a violation of the fundamental law of God and humanity. If we can achieve even the status of the right of conscience in the U.S.A., our efforts shall not have been in vain. As for stopping war, at least under present circumstances, we are in the realm of almost impossibilities although there should be no surcease of effort towards that end. And this is all the more reason why the C.O. ought to be recognized since his chief contribution is towards that end.

Paul Brinkman, Jr.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Bishop Hartman:

Upon receipt of your statement I was questioning whether I could afford to continue the *Bulletin* for another year with all my other periodicals coming. The April issue has just arrived and, in the light of the splendidly sane and wise stand on our foreign policy therein, as well as in prior numbers, I decided that I could not afford to be without it.

While I am neither a Methodist nor a Christian, may I say that I appreciate the broad spirit of your publication and, if it represented the entire membership of your church, I think we might be well on our way toward the Commonwealth of God on earth.

Believe me, with assurances of esteem,

Yours Very Sincerely,  
Judge Edward Totten,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Rev. Smith:

May we congratulate you on the excellent article "Is Tax Destruction of the Co-ops on the Way?" by Rev. William G. Law in your April, 1947, *Bulletin*. It is very well written and it is a very timely presentation in view of the publicity the Co-ops have been receiving on the problem of taxation. Our thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely, George H. Tichenor,  
Editor, *The Cooperator*

Ellensburg, Wash.

Dear Jack:

I have been away from New York for several weeks and did not see the recent issue of the *Social Questions Bulletin* until today. The statement that is reported is not quite correct and for the sake of the record I am sending this further word.

When the representatives of the Methodist Federation for Social Action waited on me recently, I was then contemplating resigning from the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, in fact had my resignation prepared. After consultation with the Secretary, Mr. Fagley, I decided to delay presenting my resignation until a statement then in preparation by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace had been considered. This statement was presented recently, and I am satisfied with the position as now stated.

The statement as reported regarding what I said about Mr. Dulles is also not quite correct. What I said, or certainly intended to say, was that I considered the recent proposal of an economic and political block in Germany, as reported in the press covering a speech made by Mr. Dulles at a conference of American publishers, meeting in New York City, the most dangerous that had been offered by any one of the responsible citizens of the United States of America participating in the work of the United Nations.

For the sake of the record I desire to have this correction in your files.

Yours cordially,  
Mark A. Dawber

Ed. note—We are glad to print this additional statement by Dr. Dawber. However, all three members of the delegation from the New York East Conference chapter of the Federation which interviewed Dr. Dawber agree that he did state that he was resigning from the Commission, and, in reply to a direct question as to whether he had any objections to his resignation being made public, said "No".

## An Appeal from Christian Brothers

Feast of St. Joseph, '47

Dear Fellow Workers in Christ:

What we are doing, and why we are doing it, is a question many ask us when they come to visit St. Joseph's House of Hospitality. We can only tell about Peter Maurin and the Green Revolution he started back in 1933 in the depths of the depression. He talked about the works of mercy as a program of action, and personal responsibility as a remedy for statism, or communism, or nazism, or fascism, or any of the other isms that afflict the modern world. To publicize his most beautiful simple synthesis we started *The Catholic Worker*, and because we had no money, we started it around the kitchen table. "They knew Him in the breaking of bread" the story is told in ACTS, when the apostles did not know our Lord after His resurrection until they sat down to eat with Him. And we have gotten to know the poor, the worker, and Christ Himself in them in the breaking of bread. One by one they came, for food, for clothing, for shelter. We started with a handful but now there are five hundred or thereabouts to feed. Bread alone costs seven dollars a day, and a hundred pounds of potatoes lasts a day. We applied for surplus but got it only once. Which reminded us that we were talking about personal responsibility, not state responsibility. Not that the state does not have to do its share in these troublous times, but that we must do all we can first. We didn't start to feed so many. But the Lord just sent them. They come in between certain hours, and we feed them. Right now Eleanor and Shorty and David, and Mr. Davin and George are doing the cooking, putting on three meals for the family, by which we mean all the twenty rooms in the back house and fourteen rooms in the front house will hold, and the two apartments extra which we rent in the neighborhood; and two meals for the "line." In all, five meals a day, which means a lot of work. (Our wages around the CW are a penny a day.)

As for shelter, there may always be room for one more at the table, but bed room is hard to find. We get filled up and then pay for thirty more beds at thirty cents a night these bitter nights. There's always plenty of guests from out of town, students, seminarians, even an occasional priest. To one seminarian who wanted to know if we could put him up, Stanley, one of our contact men, replied, "If you are not superstitious and do not mind sleeping thirteen in a bed." To another respectable soul he reassured as to the sheets. "We change them every week," and added quietly, "from one bed to another." Do not complain of our levity. When St. Teresa danced with castanets she told her nuns, "One must do something to make life bearable," and so we have Stanley. As a matter of fact, there is a Bendix around the corner, and two good friends from Biddeford who have worked in the textile mills there have sent us sheets, for the past few years.

To those we cannot take care of, well, we can be as decent and kind and gentle as possible, and even try to tell them to wrap newspaper around their middles to keep out the cold, and if you give this advice with a cup of hot coffee and show a little sympathy, such advice is taken in good part, for those who come to us see that we also are poor. That is the main thing—to be poor oneself, to share what we have, and to be kind. Not to suspect anyone and to love him. We can always try to do that, each one of us, while we wait and strive to put into effect far more wide sweeping reforms and rebuildings of the social order along the decentralist pattern. St. Teresa said the only way we can show our love for God is by our love for our fellows, and St. Ignatius

said that love was an exchange of gifts. We like this definition. We will give ourselves to you to serve the ambassador of Christ and in return we beg you for the loaves and the fishes which God will multiply to take care of our needs.

We are picketing St. Joseph with this intention, and he has never failed us yet. He had to care for Christ most literally and I am sure that She, "who from her bosom's milk did feed our own Creator, Lord most high" is happy to see us turn to him, her most chaste spouse. So please send us a penny, or a loaf or a fish or a gift by which we can go on with our work of running a hospice. We have appealed each month for Europe, and now we must appeal for ourselves to keep going. We are swamped, the wolf sits at the table with us, but we will rejoice if you will show your love for us, your servants.

In Christ,

The Editors,  
*The Catholic Worker*,  
15 Mott St., N. Y. C.

## Movie of the Month

"Odd Man Out". An Arthur J. Rank production, starring James Mason. Presented at Criterion Theatre, N. Y.

"Odd Man Out" is the story of a man hunt in Belfast during the Irish "troubles", and a very tense and exciting story it is, too. Mason, as an IRA revolutionist, is trapped in the hostile North-of-Ireland stronghold of Belfast, and before he is finally run to earth and shot he has completely exhausted the emotions of the audience.

There is a love-interest in "Odd Man Out" but it is not, as in so many American films, permitted to get in the way of the story.

The sympathies of most of the readers of the SQB will not be with the South-of-Ireland Catholic beleaguered by the North-of-Ireland Protestant police, but Mason's magnificent performance will overshadow our natural inclinations in the matter.

A superior picture.

A. J. S.

**Rome (RNS)**—Vatican spokesmen indicated there would be no official comment in connection with the conviction in Bratislava of Msgr. Joseph Tiso, former Slovak president, on charges of high treason against the Czechoslovak Republic.

After Msgr. Tiso was hanged on April 18, an editorial in the Vatican newspaper, *Observatore Romano*, expressed regret and stated, "The circumstances finally that a priestly character—which is always sacred even in someone who may be guilty—was held in no consideration cannot but cause deep pain to all the faithful."

Sentenced to death in absentia was Dr. Ferdinand Durchansky, Tiso's Nazi puppet state Foreign Minister.

**THE NEW YORK EAST CONFERENCE CHAPTER** held its annual meeting on the evening preceding the opening of annual conference at Brooklyn, N. Y. on May 13th. The year's program was reviewed and suggestions made for improvement in the coming year.

The entire slate of officers was re-elected, and the Rev. John Franzen, of Seymour, Conn. and the Rev. Wayne White, of the Bronx, were added to the executive committee.

The membership committee reported 206 members, which makes the chapter the largest in the church.

The chapter cooperated with the Conference Social Service Committee in the "Social Service Dinner" on Thursday night of conference, with Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as the speaker.

The Rev. Paul DuBois, of Bristol, Conn., president of the chapter, presided at all sessions.

## Books and Pamphlets

*Foundations of Democracy and Unity and Difference in American Life*, two volumes analyzing the spiritual, moral and practical aspects of the American democratic tradition, have been published by Harper & Bros., it has been announced by the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 3080 Broadway.

The first volume, *Foundations of Democracy*, is edited by F. Ernest Johnson, Executive Secretary of the Department of Research and Education, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. This series of lectures is dedicated to Harlan Fiske Stone "who as jurist, educator and citizen stood firmly upon the foundations of democracy."

Among contributors are Irwin Edman, Harrison S. Elliott, Louis Finkelstein, Mordecai M. Kaplan, John T. McNeill, Moorhouse I. X. Millar, S.J., A. J. Muste, Justin Wroe Nixon, and H. Paul Douglass.

In a foreword Dr. Johnson says that "so many strands enter into the development of democracy, and its expression has so many facets that their adequate presentation requires the collaboration of minds familiar with a variety of disciplines.

"It is true that the resulting symposium contains elements not fully reconcilable. Yet it is believed that each lecture presents an aspect of the theme which cannot be ignored if one would gain an understanding of democracy as a force in the world today," Dr. Johnson said.

R. M. MacIver, Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology at Barnard College and Columbia University, is editor of *Unity and Difference in American Life*. According to Dr. MacIver this symposium, dedicated to Alvin Johnson—former head of the New School for Social Research—was arranged to examine the national unity of America as it is affected by group differences and group divisions.

Pointing to the "national loss that comes from taking the viewpoint of intolerance and prejudice" Dr. MacIver says that "we lose nationally because of all nations, of all countries, ours depends more than any other on the cultivation of cooperative ness and good will between groups."

"Without that there is no such thing as an American way of life: without that it is very difficult to know that America stands for anything. It was for the development of that unity that this country came into being, to the sense of its own quality. In the growth of division, of separation and antagonism of groups we are faced with a national loss of momentous character," he says.

This survey of a unique, multigroup society has been made in three sections.

The first deals with "The Common Ground" and Louis Finkelstein, Allan Nevins, and Lawrence K. Frank have contributed articles to it.

Analyses of "The Dividing Issues" are given in the second group of writings by E. Franklin Frazier, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Eli Ginzberg and Ralph W. Sockman. The book concludes with a group of essays on "What We Can Do About Them." Those included here are Clyde R. Miller, Gerald W. Johnson, Edward L. Bernays, and Walton H. Hamilton.

The Institute announced that the two volumes belong to the third group of the Religion and Civilization Series.

## Farm Housing

*A Big Problem—How It Can Be Aided*

The National Committee on Housing announces a new report "Farm Housing—A Case Study" devoted to a vital part of the nation's housing problem which has received scant attention. Minimum farm standards, reducing building costs, housing the tenant farmer, financing aids, the rôle of government, farm income, etc. are analyzed in this report of an unusual conference sponsored by the Committee for Kentucky, the University of Kentucky and NCH. Helpful to everyone in housing, agriculture and associated fields. One Dollar per copy (60¢ to NCH Members). Send orders with checks to

National Committee on Housing, Inc.

512 Fifth Avenue

New York 18, N. C.

Bolté and Harris: *Our Negro Veterans*. 32 pp. Public Affairs Committee, New York. 20¢.

Negro veterans of World War II are faced with all the problems of other veterans on an intensified scale, declare Charles G. Bolté, Chairman of the American Veterans Committee, and Louis Harris in *Our Negro Veterans*, 32-page pamphlet issued today by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., of New York. The pamphlet is based on a series of surveys made by the Bureau of the Census, the National Urban League, the Southern Regional Council, and the American Veterans Committee.

"Veterans generally want jobs that pay more; Negro veterans desperately need jobs of any kind," the authors point out. "Veterans need housing; the Negro is always in dire need of housing. One out of three white veterans cannot find adequate educational and training facilities; four out of five Negro veterans are faced with most unsatisfactory educational and training opportunities. The Negro veteran meets greater obstacles than the non-Negro veteran at every turn for one reason: his skin is darker."

In 41 out of 67 towns and cities surveyed, the desire for better jobs ranked first among all needs. In most places Negro veterans found only menial old-line Negro jobs offered. In Arkansas, for example, 95 per cent of the placements made by the USES for Negroes were for service and unskilled jobs. A survey in Georgia concludes, "Jobs are aplenty but at low pay and in unattractive work. In town after town, it is being found that Negro veterans are being offered jobs at 12, 15, 18, or 20-odd dollars a week."

For the first half of 1946, unemployment ran 11 per cent higher among former Negro servicemen than it did among white veterans.

Negro veterans are found to be particularly anxious to enroll in apprenticeship or on-the-job training programs in order to obtain training in skilled and semi-skilled trades; but even in the best training programs, white veterans have outnumbered Negro veterans about fifty to one. In 12 Southern states, only one out of 12 veterans receiving on-the-job training under the GI Bill is a Negro, although one veteran out of three in the area is colored.

Negro veterans by and large have not been able to buy houses at the high prices which have prevailed since V-J Day. They need rental housing—at low rents. That the need of Negroes for housing is more acute than that of the general public is borne out in the 1940 general housing census. This showed that while the house of one white family out of four was substandard, one Negro family out of three had substandard housing.

Current plans for veterans' housing in eight Southern states allot only 21 per cent of the new homes to Negroes although one-third of the veteran population is Negro.

"The immediate future for Negro veterans' housing lies in low-cost housing projects," the authors declare, "and the development of inexpensive prefabricated homes. But in the long run the fundamental solution lies in raising the wage scale so that Negro veterans, and all Negroes, can afford to pay the costs of decent housing."

The educational benefits under the GI Bill are among the most substantial benefits provided for veterans of World War II. But once again Negro veterans have been prevented, through discrimination, segregation, and second-class facilities, from obtaining the advantages which are theirs under the law. Out of 100,000 Negro veterans who are eligible to attend college under the GI Bill, only 20,000 have been able to obtain admittance. Another 15,000 applied but were unable to find a college or university which had room for them. It is estimated that if there were space, another 50,000 would have applied for higher education. Upwards of 70 per cent of the Negro veterans who have succeeded in enrolling in colleges are attending all-Negro institutions.

Segregated Negro colleges are neither well enough equipped nor numerous enough to meet the demands of Negro veterans for higher education. A survey of twenty-one of the leading Negro colleges, with a total veteran enrollment of 11,043 showed that 55 per cent of all veteran applicants had to be turned away because of lack of space.

*Our Negro Veterans*, by Charles G. Bolté and Louis Harris, is Pamphlet No. 128 in the series of popular, factual pamphlets issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., nonprofit educational organization at 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Fox, William: *The Struggle for Atomic Control*. 32 pp. The Public Affairs Committee, New York. 20¢.

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter provides a basis for possible compromise on an atomic energy control plan which bypasses the veto problem, Dr. William T. R. Fox declares in *The Struggle for Atomic Control*, 32-page pamphlet issued today by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc. of New York.

"If it could be agreed that illicit production or storing of fissionable materials constitutes evidence of intent to commit armed attack, then nations could automatically, once a violation had been certified, proceed to take enforcement action without waiting for explicit Security Council approval," points out Dr. Fox, who is associate professor of political science at Yale University.

(Article 51 of the Charter declares: "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations . . .")

To secure the approval of those who want to make enforcement action as nearly certain as possible, the author of the pamphlet suggests that "enforcement action under Article 51 might be made compulsory by a treaty requiring each country to take immediate action once a violation had been officially declared. . . . Such action would be within the framework of the Charter but would not have to wait for the Security Council. The veto would not give even legal protection to an atomic aggressor."

The prospects for general acceptance of an international control plan are complicated by the many political conditions which a control treaty must meet, some of which the pamphlet lists:

(1) No country wishes to give up its capacity to defend itself if the atomic control plan breaks down.

(2) Although plans for enforcement action may not have to be negotiated simultaneously, the plan of setting up the world control authority must be negotiated as a whole and put into effect as rapidly as possible.

(3) Prestige and power considerations alike demand that the major countries seem to sacrifice about equally at each stage of putting the plan into effect.

(4) The minimum grant of power to the world authority sufficient to permit airtight inspection is certain to be so unprecedentedly great that governments should not be asked at this time to surrender further powers not required for atomic energy control.

The pamphlet also mentions among the problems still to be met the difficult ones of distributing atomic energy facilities among the nations of the world, negotiating ratios of productive facilities, rates of extraction of raw materials, and the location of installations.

Dr. Fox's analysis of a possible basis for compromise is not put forward as another plan for atomic energy control. "It is intended merely to show that a way can be found for agreement if the will exists on both sides."

The pamphlet also gives a clear, factual history of the negotiations that have thus far taken place.

*The Struggle for Atomic Control*, by William T. R. Fox, is Pamphlet No. 129 in the series of popular, factual, 20-cent pamphlets issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization at 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Paris (RNS)—Five priests and a Catholic layman, accused of forging credentials to aid "political criminals" fleeing to Spain, have been detained for examination.

Raids on abbeys and monasteries in the Paris district were begun after several recently-captured collaborators and former members of the Vichy militia said they hid in convents and obtained false papers there.

Edouard Dupreux, Minister of the Interior, declared that in the library of one abbey police found a complete plant for the forging of false identification papers.

## The Acid Test—The Soviet Union

(Continued from page 82)

strange for General MacArthur to control Japan. From the last policeman to the Imperial Palace every directive of General MacArthur's is law in the empire of the rising sun. Roumania had attacked Russia, invaded her territory, burned her goods, murdered and raped her people. I was in Odessa and saw the destruction at first hand. She burned mountains of grain desperately needed by the Russian people. She intended to incorporate Odessa as part of Greater Roumania. Japan attacked us at Pearl Harbor, and we now with an army of occupation control everything in Japan. Roumania attacked Russia at Odessa. Why should our press from the Atlantic to the Pacific condemn Russia if she exerts some small measure of influence in Roumania, far less than what MacArthur is doing in Japan?

I believe President Wilson was right when he said Russia was the acid test of our goodwill and of our statesmanship. If the Christian Church believes in the Prince of Peace, then we must recognize the positive trends in the Soviet Union as well as the negative factors. We must recognize that everywhere the Soviet Union goes the land is divided up among the poor, free help is given to the people, education is provided for all. After 150 years of British rule in India, the Indian people are still illiterate. This is not true where the Soviet Union goes. The basic struggle throughout the world is for justice and peace. Russia has led the world in urging disarmament. She did it after the last war, and was blockaded by the United States and Great Britain. In spite

of the fact that the atomic bomb is a weapon of offense and that we alone possess the secret, and in spite of the fact that we now have enough bombs to destroy the major capitals of the world, we continue to manufacture atomic bombs to the tune of nearly \$500,000,000 dollars a year. It is the United States, the richest country in the world, that has thus far refused to loan money to Russia in spite of the fact that Russia lost 15,000,000 dead and had 6,000,000 houses in fighting to preserve her liberty and ours. State Department even protested when Sweden made a loan to the Soviet Union, and outlawed a previous loan made to Czechoslovakia.

The United States has refused to support a World Food Board. It proposes to use food as a political weapon. Pearl Buck, says, "Our policies and actions in Japan and Korea are building a cynicism of democracy which centuries can scarcely free. The Chinese realize that their country is being sold out to America. . . . If American citizens could be brought to know what was going on a mighty anger would drive through this nation like a purifying fire."

The religious leaders of America must act. They must counteract the false propaganda about Russia. We must circulate the truth in periodicals and books. We must strengthen the forces-making for disarmament and world peace. We must remember that Jesus had only a handful of disciples, yet his movement was to sweep around the world. Lenin and the Revolutionists numbered less than the genuine Christian forces in America, and yet they effected the overthrow of the Tsar. Similarly, we can change American policy. We can help to build a social order in which we have a serving church, a serving state and a serving economic order.



GRAIN DISTRIBUTION IN FLOODED AREA—NORTH CHINA—ONE OF THE MANY SERVICES RENDERED THE FLOOD AND FAMINE SUFFERERS BY CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, A COOPERATING AGENCY OF UNITED SERVICE TO CHINA.

USC Photo